

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

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R 290455Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8412

S E C R E T JAKARTA 6465

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, ID

SUBJ: SUHARTO'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FORD

1. WE OFFER FOLLOWING THOUGHTS (CLEARED BY AMBASSADOR NEWSOM PRIOR MAY 29 DEPARTURE FOR U.S.) ON SUHARTO'S OBJECTIVES IN VISITING UNITED STATES AND ON TOPICS HE MAY RAISE WITH PRESIDENT:

2. SUHARTO'S OVERRIDING CONCERN AT THIS TIME IS WITH IMPACT ON INDONESIA OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN INDOCHINA, AND HE WILL BE LOOKING FOR REASSURANCE OF US INTEREST AND SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA. WHILE INDONESIAN LEADERSHIP DOES NOT EXPECT OVERT ATTACK, THEY FEAR STEPPED UP COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AND INCREASED CHINESE, VIETNAMESE AND (TO LESSER EXTENT) SOVIET INFLUENCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SUHARTO'S ADVISORS ARE DIVIDED ON COURSE INDONESIA SHOULD FOLLOW, ALTHOUGH FUNDAMENTAL INDONESIAN COMMITMENT TO NON-ALIGNMENT ABROAD AND ANTI-COMMUNISM AT HOME IS NOT IN QUESTION. FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK BELIEVES INDONESIA MUST STRENGTHEN TIES WITH SOVIETS, NORTH VIETNAMESE, AND, POSSIBLY, CHINESE, AND SEES REGIONAL NEUTRALIZATION (INCLUDING REMOVAL OF US BASES) AS CONCOMITANT OF THIS PROCESS. MILITARY LEADERS PLACE EMPHASIS ON INCREASING INDONESIA'S ABILITY TO RESIST INFILTRATION/SUBVERSION BY

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STRENGTHENING

MILITARY DEFENSES, ACCELERATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND EXPANDING COOPERATION WITH NON-COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS. THEY HOPE SEVENTH FLEET WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE DETERRENCE, BUT ARE AMBIVALENT ABOUT RETENTION OF US BASES OVER LONG TERM, AND THEY WOULD GO SLOW IN APPROACHING HANOI. AS MILITARY MAN, SUHARTO PROBABLY INCLINES TOWARD VIEW OF HIS SOLDIER COLLEAGUES BUT REALIZES THERE ARE MANY FACTORS TO BE WEIGHED, NOT LEAST OF WHICH IS FUTURE OF US POLICY IN REGION.

3. ON THIS SCORE, INDONESIANS SEE MANY REASONS TO BE UNEASY. EVEN BEFORE INDOCHINA COLLAPSE, THEY WERE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT THEY INTERPRETED AS SIGNS OF LESSENING US INTEREST IN INDONESIA -- SUCH AS SHORTFALLS IN MILITARY AID, DECLINING LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, AND EXCLUSION OF INDONESIA, AS OPEC MEMBER, FROM TRADE PREFERENCES. RECENT EVENTS HAVE BROUGHT HOME TO INDONESIANS THE IMPORTANCE OF CONGRESSIONAL FACTOR IN US FOREIGN POLICY; AND THEY WONDER IF THE EXECUTIVE CAN OBTAIN NECESSARY CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR US TO PLAY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN ASIA, PARTICULARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA.

4. IN THIS CONTEXT, WE ANTICIPATE SUHARTO WILL WISH TO DISCUSS:

A. U.S. DEFENSE POSTURE IN ASIA: SUHARTO WILL WANT TO KNOW HOW, FOLLOWING COLLAPSE OF NON-COMMUNIST FORCES IN INDOCHINA, US DEFINES ITS SECURITY INTERESTS IN EAST ASIA AND WHAT SORT OF MILITARY PRESENCE WE CAN BE EXPECTED TO MAINTAIN. IN OTHER WORDS, CAN INDONESIA ASSUME THAT UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE A COUNTER TO SOVIET AND CHINESE POWER THROUGH NAVAL PRESENCE IN CHINA SEA, BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES, AND SECURITY AGREEMENTS WITH JAPAN, KOREA, PHILIPPINES, AND AUSTRALIA?

B. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE: WE WOULD EXPECT SUHARTO TO STRESS THAT INDONESIA, DESPITE INCREASED INCOME FROM OIL, REMAINS POOR COUNTRY, WITH PRESSING DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, PROGRESS ON WHICH HAS BECOME EVEN MORE URGENT AS RESULT OF EVENTS IN INDOCHINA. HE WILL PROBABLY INDICATE HIS HOPES THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE CONTINUE AT EXISTING LEVELS AND INCREASE, IF POSSIBLE; AND THAT SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF OUR  
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ASSISTANCE BE PROVIDED ON CONCESSIONAL TERMS.

C. MILITARY ASSISTANCE: IN EXPLAINING DESIRE FOR CONTINUED US. GRANT AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES, SUHARTO WILL LIKELY EMPHASIZE INCREASED THREAT FROM INFILTRATION/SUBVERSION AND PRESSING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, WHICH LIMIT FUNDING AVAILABLE FOR MILITARY. HE MAY MENTION INDONESIAN INTEREST IN ACQUIRING SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT FROM U.S. INVENTORY, PROBABLY IN CONTEXT OF NEED FOR

EFFECTIVE SEA AND AIR PATROL TO PREVENT INFILTRATION OF  
ARMS AND SUPPLIES FROM NORTH.

5. SUHARTO'S VISIT PROVIDES OPPORTUNITY TO REASSURE HIM  
THAT US INTENDS TO PLAY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN ASIA AND THAT  
WE VALUE AND DESIRE TO CONTINUE OUR EXISTING FRIENDLY TIES  
WITH INDONESIA. IN DISCUSSING FUTURE U.S. POSTURE IN  
ASIA, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO POINT OUT THAT TREATY COMMITMENTS  
TO ASIAN ALLIES HAVE ALL RECEIVED FORMAL CONGRESSIONAL  
APPROVAL AND THERE NO INDICATION OF ANY CONGRESSIONAL DESIRE  
TO WITHDRAW FROM SUCH COMMITMENTS. LIKEWISE, THERE IS  
CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR MAINTAINING MILITARY BALANCE  
WITH SOVIETS, INCLUDING RETENTION OF SEVENTH FLEET.

6. AS FOR BILATERAL RELATIONS, WE CAN POINT TO SEVERAL  
RECENT EVIDENCES OF CONTINUING IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO  
INDONESIA. AT MAY MEETING OF INDONESIAN AID DONORS'  
CONSORTIUM (IGGI), US STATED ITS INTENTION TO CONTINUE  
PROVIDING SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE TO INDONESIA. EXECUTIVE  
SOUGHT AND OBTAINED CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR MILITARY  
AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN FY 75 AND HAS PROPOSED SIMILAR  
ASSISTANCE IN FY 76. PRESIDENT HAS CALLED FOR REVISION OF  
SECTION V OF TRADE ACT, AS IT APPLIES TO INDONESIA AND OTHER  
NON-ARAB OPEC COUNTRIES.

7. IN MAKING THESE POINTS IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC NOT TO  
ACKNOWLEDGE THAT DEBATE IS IN PROGRESS ON FUTURE US POLICIES  
AND THAT CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES WILL CONTINUE TO CARRY  
WEIGHT IN DETERMINING WHAT US DOES AND SAYS ABROAD.  
NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE THAT OPPORTUNITY FOR SUHARTO  
TO HEAR FROM PRESIDENT ABOUT THESE MATTERS CAN GO FAR  
TOWARD CONVINCING HIM THAT US IS AND WILL REMAIN IMPORTANT  
AND HELPFUL ELEMENT IN SEA EQUATION.

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## Message Attributes

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